

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 NEA-14 IO-14 ISO-00 SAM-01 OMB-01

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RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIE-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00

SSO-00 DRC-01 /127 W

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FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 490

INFO USINT ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMEMBASSY CONAKRY

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

AMCONSUL LUANDA

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMCONSUL OPORTO

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMCONSUL PONTA DELGADA

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AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 1 OF 2 LISBON 3907

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, PO
SUBJ: SPINOLA SPEECH ATTACKS ONE-PARTY GOVERNMENT
AND EXTREMISTS

REF: A) LISBON 3454
B) LISBON 3700
C) LISBON 3575
D) LISBON 3885
E) LISBON A-103

SUMMARY: PRESIDENT SPINOLA DELIVERS HARDEST HITTING
ANTI-EXTREMIST SPEECH TO DATE, ATTACKING TURNOVER OF
POWER IN PORTUGAL AND AFRICAN TERRITORIES TO ONE PARTY
TOTALITARIAN PARTIES, AND PLEDGING USE OF ALL HIS
CONSTITUTIONAL POWERS IN DEFENSE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS IN
PORTUGAL. VIELED ATTACKS ON LEGITIMACY ARMED FORCES
MOVEMENT (AFM) COORDINATING COMMITTEE MADE, AND
EQUATION OF COMMUNISM WITH FASCISM RAISED. END SUMMARY.

1. FOLLOWING ARE HIGHLIGHTS OF MAJOR ADDRESS TO NATION
DELIVERED BY PRESIDENT SPINOLA AT 1730 LOCAL SEPTEMBER 10,
JUST A FEW HOURS AFTER PORTUGUESE FORMAL RECOGNITION
OF INDEPENDENCE OF GUINEA-BISSAU:

2. PRESIDENT WELCOMED INDEPENDENCE OF GUINEA-BISSAU
AS ANOTHER MEMBER OF THE LUSITANIAN WORLD, REMINDING
NATION THAT HE WHEN GOVERNOR OF GUINEA HAD INSPIRED
"GUINE FOR GUINEANS" MOVEMENT WHICH HAD COME TO FULL
FRUITION TODAY. SPINOLA WENT ON TO ASSERT THAT HE HAD
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ALWAYS DEFENDED THESIS THAT TRUE AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE NOT
POSSIBLE IF PEOPLE SIMPLY HANDED OVER TO ANTI-
DEMOCRATIC FORMS OF GOVERNMENT. PORTUGAL HAS JUST
ESCAPED FROM A NONE-PARTY REGIME, NOTED PRESIDENT, AND
ONE-PARTY REGIMES ARE NOT BY DEFINITION DEMOCRATIC
STRUCTURES. SUCH REGIMES MUST BE EXCLUDED FROM
PORTUGUESE POLITICS, AND WE CANNOT COHERENTLY ACCEPT
THEM IN DECOLONIZATION PROCESS. THEREFORE WE HOPE

THAT PAIGC WILL HONOR RESPONSIBILITIES ASSUMED AS
REPRESENTATIVES OF GUINENA PEOPLE. SPINOLA SAID
HE CONFIDENT AND CERTAIN THAT LEADERS OF NEW NATION WILL
KNOW HOW TO DEFEND DEMOCRACY OF NEW STATE AGAINST ANY NEW
COLONIALISMS IN CLIMATE OF PERFECT LIBERTY, SOCIAL
JUSTICE AND PROGRESS. IF SUCH A DEFENSE NOT UNDERTAKEN,
HOPES OF GUINENANS AND IDEALS INSPIRING PORTUGUESE
DECOLONIZATION EFFORTS WILL HAVE BEEN BETRAYED.

3. PRESIDENT THEN DWELT ON DECOLONIZATION PROCESS IN
GENERAL TERMS, REMARKING THAT THIS PROCESS DOES NOT
("AS SOME LIGHTLY THINK") CONSIST OF PURELY AND
SIMPLY TRANSFERRING POWER TO THOSE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS
WHO HAVE CARRIED OUT THE ARMED STRUGGLE AGAINST PORTUGAL.
WE SUPPORT A DECOLONIZATION WHICH HISTORY WILL FIND
WORTHY, AND IN WHICH LIBERTY OF POLITICAL OPTIONS
DEFENDED AND INSTITUTIONALIZED, IN WHICH SOCIETY IS SO
STRUCTURED THAT TRULY ANTI-COLONIAL SYSTEMS
IMPLANTED AND IN WHICH FREEDOM FOR MULTIPARTY DEMOCRACY
ASSURED. THOSE WHO CRITICIZE OUR INTRANSIGENT STAND ON
BEHALF OF THESE LIBERTIES ARE INTERESTED IN APPROPRIATING
POWER IN NAME OF CERTAIN IDEOLOGIES AND THEIR CORRESPOND-
ING TOTALITARIAN REGIMES. RISK OF NEW ENSLAVEMENT OF
AFRICAN TERRITORIES BY SUCH TOTALITARIANISMS IS POSSIBILITY
WHICH CONSCIENCE OBLIGES DEMOCRATS TO FIGHT AGAINST.
AUTHENTIC DECOLONIZATION, WARNED PRESIDET, DOES NOT
RESULT FROM RAPID ABANDONMENT OF OVERSEAS TO ARBITRARY NEW
DICTATORS WHO WOULD MAKE NEW STATES SATELLITES OF THIRD PARTIES.

4. FIRST PHASE OF DECOLONIZATION, THAT OF AN END TO
BLOODSHED, HAS BEEN ACHIEVED. SECOND STAGE WILL BE
RESPONSIBILITY OF THOSE WHO FOUGHT AGAINST US AND WHO
NOW ASSUME POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITIES. THIS STAGE
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CONSISTS OF ERECTING EFFICINET DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS
TO SAFEGUARD INTERESTS OF ALL CITIZENS.

5. REGARDING ANGOLA, SPINOLA PLEDGED DECOLONIZATION
PROGRAM AS PREVIOUSLY REVEALED BY NATIONAL SALVATION
JUNTA (REF A) WILL BE ADHERED TO SINCE WE ARE CERTAIN
THAT SCHEDULE BEST DEFENDS INDEPENDENCE AND DEMOCRACY
THERE.

6. REST OF SPEECH DEVOTED TO ANALYSIS OF INTERNAL
POLITICAL SITUATION IN PORTUGAL, WHICH HE, AS IN PAST,
CHARACTERIZED AS A "SICK" COUNTRY, ONE IN "GRAVE
CRISIS" AND VULNERABLE TO "EXTREMISTS ADVENTURES."
SPINOLA ASSERTED THAT NATION WITNESSING SYSTEMATIC
ASSAULT IN PRIVATE AND PUBLIC DECISION-MAKING CENTERS

BY GROUPS ON FRINGES OF LEGAL AND INSTITUTIONAL ORDER. COERCION, MENACE, MYSTIFICATION AND ANTI-DEMOCRATIC METHODS ARE USED BY THSE OPPORTUNISTS.

7. ARMED FORCES PROGRAM, WHOSE EXECUTION IS SUPREME RESPONSIBILITY OF PRESIDENT OF REPUBLIC, MAKES CLEAR THAT FUNDAMENTAL REFORMS IN SOCEITY RESERVED FOR DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED INSTITUTIONS. HOWEVER, COMPLAINED PRESIDENT, CERTAIN DE FACTO SITUATIONS ARE BEING CREATED WHICH PREJUDGE RIGHT OF PEOPLE TO DECIDE THEIR FUTURE.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 491

INFO USINT ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

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AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

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8. SPINOLA THEN LAUNCHED INTO AN ANALYSIS OF SOCIALISM,
SYAING HE RECOGNIZED CONTRIBUTION OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM
TO MODERN POLITICAL SOCIETIES. HE ACCEPTS TRULY
DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM, I.E., SOCIALISM AS PRACTICED IN
REGIME WHICH ALLOW FOR PLURALITY OF OPINION AND WHICH
ARE RESPONSIVE TO WILL OF MAJORITY, BUT NOT SOCIALISM
WHICH IS ONLY EUPHEMISM FOR TOTALITARIAN STATE CONTROL.
SOCIAL JUSTICE, WHICH HE FAVORS, CAN BE CARRIED OUT IN
MANY WAYS WITHOUT OBLIVIATING ROLE OF PRIVATE INITIATIVE
(FISCAL POLICY, BUDGET ORIENTATION, DIRECTION OF
ECONOMY, ETC.)

9. CHANGE TOWARDS GOALS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE AND TRULY
DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY MUST BE NIETHER BRUSQUE NOR CON-
VULSIVE, SINCE SUCH CONVULSIONS CARRY WITHIN THEM SEEDS
OF NEW DICTATORSHIPS OF LEFT OR RIGHT. THE "SILENT
MAJORITY" MUST WAKE UP AND ACTIVELY DEFEND ITSELF FROM
TOTALITARIAN EXTREMISTS LURKIING IN SHADOWS WAITING TO
TAKE ADVANTAGE OF CONFUSED AND PERPLEXED POPULATION.
AN ANARCHICAL CLIMATE OF UNCONTROLLED DEMANDS IS WHAT
SUCH EXTREMISTS SEEK TO PROFIT FROM.

10. PRESIDENT WOUND UP SPEECH BY SAYING MOMENT AT HAND FOR
HIM TO ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY TO STAND FIRM AGAINST THOSE
WHO ABUSING LIBERTY. INEPT, CORRUPT, OR VENAL
BUREAUCRATS MUST BE REMOVED, PARASTITIC AND UNPRODUCTIVE
WORKERS MUST GO, AND OPPORTUNISTIC, AUTOCRATIC OR
DEMAGOGIC POLITICANS MUST BE REMOVED. INVOKING

THE ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT PROGRAM, SPINOLA REITERATED
THAT EITHER DEMOCRATIZATION BE CARRIED OUT COMPLETELY,
OR "FUTURE OF MISERY, BLOOD AND SLAVERY AWAITS US."

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EXTREMIST REGIMES ONLY LEAD TO EXTREMES.
FASCISM WHICH WE HAVE ABOLISHED WAS BASED ON TRILOGY "ONE
PEOPLE, ONE PARTY, ONE CHIEF." PORTUGUESE MUST BE
ALERT TO ALL REGIMES INSPIRED BY THAT TRILOGY.

11. PRESIDENT IS PERSON RESPONSIBLE FOR SEEING AFM
PROGRAM OF DEMOCRATIZATION CARRIED OUT. HE WILL NOT
ABIDICATE HIS RESPONSIBILITY IN THIS REGARD AND WILL
UTILIZE ALL CONSTITUTIONAL MEANS IN HIS POWER IN
DEFENSE OF THIS DUTY. HE WILL ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY
FOR DEFENSE OF LIBERTY AGAINST "REACTION OF EXTREME
RIGHT AND OPPORTUNISM OF EXTREME LEFT" AND WILL
ACCELERATE PROMULGATION OF NEW LAWS, DELAY IN PASSAGE
OF WHICH IS MAKING PRESENT SITUATION MORE DIFFICULT.

12. COMMENT: THIS SPEECH IS PRESIDENT'S MOST ASSERTIVE
TO DATE AGAINST EXTREMISTS, AND ONLY ONE IN WHICH HE HAS
CLEARLY ATTACKED BY NAME FAR LEFTISTS AND FAR RIGHTISTS.
NO ONE HAS ACCUSED FAR RIGHT OF SYSTEMATICALLY SEIZING
DECISION-MAKING CENTERS, AND REAL TARGET OF SPINOLA'S WARNING
IS COMMUNIST PARTY AND GROUPS TO LEFT OF IT, WHO HAVE
HIIJACKED MUCH OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND WHO CONTROL
MEDIA CONTENT.

13. NOTEWORTHY IS SPINOLA'S ASSERTION THAT HE AS
PRESIDENT, IS THE MAN RESPONSIBLE FOR OVERSEEING THE
AFM PROGRAM. THIS IS AN OPEN CHALLENGE TO LEGITIMACY
AND AUTHORITY OF AFM COORDINATING COMMITTEE, WHICH IS
REFUSING TO DISBAND ON GROUNDS IT IS WATCHDOG OF AFM
PROGRAM. POLITICAL CRISIS OF TWO WEEKS AGO TO GREAT
EXTENT REVOLVED AROUND QUESTION OF WHETHER OR NOT
THIS COMMITTEE SHOULD BE AOBLISHED AND AROUND ISSUE
OF WHETHER PROFOUND SOCIAL CHANGES COULD BE CARRIED
OUT IN THIS TRANSITORY PHASE BEFORE ELECTIONS. SPINOLA
HAS COME DOWN HARD IN THIS SPEECH AGAINST ATTEMPTS BY
PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT AND OTHERS TO EFFECT SUCH
CHANGES WITH ARGUMENT PEOPLE MUST DECIDE COURSE OF
NATION DEMOCRATICALLY IN FUTURE DELECTIONS.

14. PRESIDENT'S THREAT TO USE CONSTITUTIONAL MEANS AT
HIS DISPOSAL IN DEFENSE DEMOCRATIC DECISION-MAKING
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PROCESS SEEN BY EMBASSY AS VEILED THREAT BY HIM TO
DISMISS PRIME MINISTER GONCALVES AND CABINET IF THEY
PERSIST IN WHAT HE SEES AS ATTEMPTS AT BASIC AND PERHAPS
PRECIPITATE SOCIAL CHANGE. MANY PORTUGUESE WITH WHOM
WE HAVE TALKED FORESEE SPINOLA IN NEXT FEW WEEKS DISMISSING
CABINET AND INSISTING UPON THE DISSOLUTION OF AFM COORDINATING
COMMITTEE. DAO CONFIRMS THERE ARE CURRENTS IN MILITARY ITSELF
CALLING FOR JUST THIS (REFS B, C, AND). SOME
OBSERVERS BELIEVE RECENT MOZAMBIQUE INCIDENTS WILL
STRENGTHEN SPINOLA'S HAND IN THIS STRUGGLE TO EASE
AFM COORDINATING COMMITTEE OUT OF EXISTENCE. SUCH
OBSERVES BELIEVE PRESIDENT WILL USE AS ONE ARGUMENT
CHARGE THAT PRECIPITATE AND UNDEMOCRATIC DECOLONIZATION
WAS FORCED UPON HIM BY AFM COMMITTEE LEADERS WHO WERE RESPONSIBLE
FOR LUSAKA ACCORD WHICH LED TO RECENT MOZAMBIQUE EVENTS. (IT
SHOULD BE NOTED IN THIS CONTEXT THAT SPINOLA HAD NO KIND WORDS
TO SAY IN SPEECH REGARDING FRELIMO OR LUSAKA AGREEMENT.)

15. SPINOLA'S REMARKS ABOUT "CLEANSING" DEMAGOGIC
POLITICIANS FROM POLITICAL SCENE, AND HIS NEAR QUATION
OF FASCISM WITH COMMUNISM IS SURE TO RAISE STORM OF
PROTEST FROM LEFTISTS, WHO WILL PROBABLY NOTE SIMILARITY
THIS EQUATION WITH THAT OF CURRENT POSTER CAMPAIGN
WITH SAME MESSAGE, AND RECENT REMARKS TO THAT EFFECT
BY GALVAO DE MELO (REF E).

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